UNITED
NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.
LIMITED

A/AC.115/L.682
11 December 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EASTERN EUROPE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT, HELD AT PRAGUE FROM 13 TO 15 JUNE 1991

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INTRODUCTION

1. By paragraph 3 of resolution 45/176 E of 19 December 1990, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid, in accordance with its mandate and acting as the focal point for the international campaign against apartheid and the promotion of the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, to continue mobilizing international action against apartheid.

2. In accordance with that provision, the Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1991 the co-sponsoring of a conference of Eastern European parliamentarians on action against apartheid in cooperation with the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPAA).

3. After consultations with AWEPAA, the International Conference on Eastern Europe and Southern Africa: Supporting Democracy and Development was held at Prague from 13 to 15 June 1991. The Conference was finally organized by AWEPAA and the African-European Institute with the support of the Special Committee. It was hosted by the Federal Assembly and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia.

4. The Special Committee fully participated in the opening meeting of the Conference as well as in its first working meeting, entitled "South Africa in Transition". It observed the proceedings of two other working meetings (see paras. 6-10).

5. The objectives of the first working meeting were:

(a) To raise the awareness of public opinion and decision makers in Eastern European countries on the question of apartheid and current developments in South Africa;

(b) To provide a forum for the discussion of issues linked to the ongoing process of change in South Africa and its implications for the international campaign against apartheid;

(c) To draw the attention to current and prospective policies of Eastern European countries towards South Africa and the southern African region in the light of the consensus Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa and recent General Assembly consensus resolutions.

I. AGENDA AND PROCEEDINGS

6. The Conference was opened on 13 June 1991 at the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia. The participants of the Conference were welcomed by the Chairman of the Federal Assembly, Mr. Alexander Dubcek. Formal opening statements were made by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference, Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, President of AWEPAA and Executive President of the African-European Institute, and Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (for a summary of their statements see annex I to the present report).

7. The opening meeting was also addressed by Mr. Peter Mmusi, Vice-President of Botswana, Minister of Local Government and Lands and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC); Mr. Martin Palous, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia; Mr. Christian Beyers-Naudé, Chairman of the African-European Institute, South Africa; and Mr. Giovanni Livi, Director for Development and Cooperation at the Directorate General of the Commission of the European Communities. Following the opening, the Conference continued in three working meetings. It was closed with a statement by the President of AWEPAA.

8. The first working meeting, entitled "South Africa in transition", was chaired by Mr. Donald Anderson, Member of Parliament, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Panelists were Mr. Beyers-Naudé; Mr. Alexander Boraine, Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa; Mr. Colin Eglin, Member of Parliament, South Africa; Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations Centre against Apartheid; Mr. Joe R. Mkwanazi, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC); and Mr. Mendi Msimang, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). The discussion concentrated on recent developments in South Africa and the prospects for change, the response by the international community and its support for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa (see annex II to the present report).

9. The second working meeting was entitled "SADCC: Regional development in transition". It was chaired by Mr. D. Mutasa, Senior Minister for Political Affairs of Zimbabwe. Panelists were Mrs. K. Bulbulia, Senator, Ireland; Mr. V. de Araujo Ferrao, Member of Parliament, Mozambique; Mr. M. Garoeb, Member of Parliament, Namibia; Mr. I. Gaspar-Martins, African Development Bank; Mr. M. Nwako, Speaker of Parliament, Botswana; Mr. M. van Hulten, Global Coalition for Africa; and Mr. J. Sokol, Member of Parliament, Czechoslovakia. This working meeting dealt with the issue of political evolution in southern Africa, aspects of present and future international economic cooperation, the effects of South Africa's policy of destabilization, as well as with the plight of children.

10. The third working meeting dealt with "The situation in Central and Eastern Europe". In particular, the discussion focused on recent developments in that region and issues of a trilateral cooperation between Western Europe, Eastern Europe and South Africa.

11. On 14 June 1991, the Chairman of the Special Committee and the Assistant Secretary-General for the Centre against Apartheid, in a press conference, answered questions by the international and national media on the subject. The press conference was moderated by the Director of the United Nations Information Centre, Mr. Andreas Nicklisch.

II. PARTICIPANTS

12. The Special Committee was represented by its Chairman, Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), by Mr. Anatoli T. Oleinik (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) and by Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria). In addition, representatives of States members of the Special Committee accredited to Czechoslovakia participated in the sessions of the Conference. ANC and PAC participated in the Conference with two representatives each.

13. The Conference was attended by African and Eastern and Western European parliamentarians, representatives of Governments and of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. Among the participants were also representatives of the international and national media and research institutions, as well as individuals concerned with the issues under consideration. The Conference was attended by over 100 participants. The list of participants is provided in annex III to the present report.

III. DOCUMENTATION

14. A list of documents distributed by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, AWEPAA and others is contained in annex IV to the present report.

Annex I

SUMMARY OF STATEMENTS

A. Statement by the Chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Alexander Dubcek

1. In his welcoming address, Mr. Alexander Dubcek stated that the Conference taking place in the Federal Assembly reflected Czechoslovakia's interest in problems that were only apparently remote. In reality, the problems of South Africa were very close and Czechoslovakia wanted to contribute to their solution. Czechoslovakia would do so in cooperation with the Western European parliaments and the 10 countries of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC).

2. Underlining the fact that the social, cultural and economic development of southern Africa was a matter of concern to Czechoslovakia, he stated that Eastern European parliamentarians would be joining their Western European counterparts in contributing to democracy and development in southern Africa. For many decades that region had been troubled by various conflicts with repercussions even outside the region owing to the inhuman system of apartheid and racism in South Africa. Czechoslovakia was glad that in the recent past a road had been opened for the peaceful political solution of conflicts and that in the internal political development in the respective States a reconciliation of hostile forces and gradual democratization was taking place.

3. Mr. Dubcek stated that Czechoslovakia rejected the system of apartheid, which it considered abnormal and inhumane. It therefore welcomed the important steps that had been taken leading to its abolition. Czechoslovakia supported all the forces inside and outside South Africa that strove for that aim; he said that the international community should direct its efforts to the peaceful solution of the question, which meant to remove apartheid by dialogue and other non-violent means.

4. Progress towards a positive economic and social development in the region would only be possible with a general stability in all countries. The success of Namibia, the peaceful process in Angola and the progress made in the abolition of apartheid in South Africa gave reason for optimism as far as the future of the southern African region was concerned. Internal disunity was a serious obstacle to the establishment of justice and legality in a State with a developed economy. Understanding and dialogue without confrontation must be reached not only between Whites and Blacks, but also among Blacks, in South Africa.

5. Mr. Dubcek stated that Czechoslovakia wanted to take part in European-southern African economic cooperation on a bilateral level. He expressed the wish that the joint efforts in overcoming apartheid would lead to the unity of all people regardless of their colour, language and religion.

B. Statement by Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, President of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid and Executive President of the African-European Institute

6. On behalf of AWEPAA and the African-European Institute, Mr. Jan Nico Scholten welcomed the participants to their first large-scale activity in Central and Eastern Europe. In the past, winds of change had swept through Africa leading to the process of decolonization. Today, again, new winds were not only changing Africa, but also Europe and, indeed, the once embittered relations between East and West. AWEPAA and the African-European Institute had a special interest in Central and Eastern Europe because they worked thus far mainly within the orbit of western politics.

7. While dealing with southern African issues, it was done primarily with a general concern for human rights, peace, democracy and social justice. From that perspective, recent developments in the Central and Eastern European region had encouraged AWEPAA and the Institute to broaden the geographical scope of activities and to react more strongly to the tremendous changes, both in internal political and economic structures and in international relations. While international detente had made it possible to initiate new forms of international relations and cooperation between East and West, the West had particular responsibility to make a significant contribution to a new order of the European continent and, by extension, to a new world order. However, it was a shared responsibility to overcome existing current divisions and to prevent a growing disparity between East and West. On a global scale, the joint responsibility of East and West was lying in the fighting of the widening divide between North and South. Successful new forms of cooperation were in the interest of all. The world as a whole could benefit from new stability, democracy and prosperity in Europe.

8. In South Africa, the political process towards the abolition of apartheid started a year and a half ago. It looked promising and important progress in some respects had been recognized. But there was no time for euphoria. Many stumbling blocks and setbacks persisted and some of the preconditions had not been met satisfactorily, in particular as far as political security legislation, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles were concerned. Serious doubts emerged about the positive commitment expressed by the de Klerk Government. It was necessary that all political refugees receive permanent amnesty so as to decide for themselves whether and when they wished to return to their home country. Violence was disrupting the ongoing political process. The deadlock between the various parties involved had not been fully resolved. The primary, though not the only, responsibility rested with those in power: the South African Government, army and police.

9. While reflecting on an alleged hidden agenda by the Government to destabilize anti-apartheid forces, Mr. Scholten wondered if democracy and freedom would get a real chance in South Africa or if the country would follow the disastrous route of Angola and Mozambique. In that context, he also referred to existing detailed plans to continue support for the União Nacional

para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) aiming at the defeat of the current Governments in those countries in forthcoming elections. It was time for an independent and international commission of inquiry into the causes and responsibilities for the violence in South Africa. The international community, East and West, should put more pressure on South Africa to stop it.

10. Although that repeal of apartheid laws by the South African minority parliament as such fulfilled a necessary precondition for further political progress, the way in which it was carried out remained far from sufficient. Repeal and replacement should be seen as one package and prevent serious shortcomings. The land issue was far from being resolved by abolishing the Land Acts. Positive measures were needed for the restoration of the rights of Black land-owning communities. He wondered whether the repeal of the Group Areas Act was more than symbolic and cosmetic, as long as White local authorities could still effectively keep Blacks out by imposing certain norms and standards for allowing them to live in formerly White-only areas.

11. Against that background, the erosion of the international consensus on pressure on South Africa, as embodied in two United Nations resolutions, adopted by consensus in December 1989 and 1990, was regrettable. AWEPAA had always hoped that developments would be so fast and positive that the easing of sanctions would be justified. Only then could campaigns for generous and massive support by the international community start in support of rebuilding South Africa into a just and stable society. However, plans should already be made for this phase, but for the time being existing international pressure should be maintained.

12. AWEPAA regretted that part of the sanctions of the European Community (EC) had been lifted prematurely, against the explicit wishes of the South African liberation movements, but commended the Danish Parliament for forcing its Government to withdraw its approval. The decision taken by the EC Council of Ministers, therefore, could not be implemented. It was welcomed that part of the EC sanctions package remained intact: the sanctions on oil, on computer deliveries, on nuclear relations and, most important of all, the arms embargo. AWEPAA had hoped that EC would uphold the international consensus and joined forces with others who would keep their sanctions in place. In this context, he highlighted the position on sanctions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which continued to oppose their immediate and total lifting.

13. AWEPAA was convinced that a constructive policy on sanctions could be found. The Commonwealth, together with the South African anti-apartheid forces, had developed ideas to link the gradual easing of sanctions with substantial and essential progress in the political process in South Africa. Creative and constructive policies and discussions on sanctions were required, but continued to be threatened by the premature and unilateral lifting of sanctions by members of the international community. Optimism about achievements thus far and the immediate future remained unfounded. The world community should remember the clear preconditions and definitions of the United Nations, when changes in South Africa could be called profound and irreversible. Those criteria had not been met as yet by any standards.

14. At the end, Mr. Scholten thanked the host of the Conference for the Cooperation and the Special Committee against Apartheid for its support. He also expressed gratitude for the financial and organizational assistance of the European Commission, the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation of Germany, the Danish Government and Danchurchaid.

C. Statement by Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid

15. On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, the Chairman welcomed all participants in the Conference, which was taking place against the background of historic changes in the international arena and of great challenges before the international community to devise appropriate strategies to address national, regional and global issues. In southern Africa, there was reason for cautious optimism, for peace in Angola and for the eradication of apartheid, at long last, in South Africa.

16. For the United Nations it was particularly gratifying to witness that the resistance of the South African people and the pressure of the outside world had prompted the White leadership to take steps towards dismantling apartheid. For decades, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Eastern European countries, including Czechoslovakia, as well as the Nordic countries were in the vanguard of international pressure on apartheid South Africa. Some Governments, many political parties and a host of non-governmental organizations in Western European countries provided a strong and effective component to the international pressure. All those in Europe who had fought apartheid, racism and the violations of human rights should be proud of their contribution towards the eradication of apartheid - universally considered a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind.

17. In December 1989, the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences for Southern Africa delineated the common objectives of the international community towards the establishment of a unified, non-racial and democratic South Africa by peaceful means, and spelled out the steps that had to be taken to create a climate conducive to negotiations, the modalities of the negotiations and the principles of a new constitution. It also contained a programme of action regarding the responsibility of the international community. It was agreed that the international community would not relax existing measures aimed at encouraging the South African regime to eradicate apartheid until there was clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes, bearing in mind the objectives of the Declaration. The Secretary-General in his 1990 report on the findings of a mission he sent to South Africa, found that the climate appropriate for negotiations had not yet been established and that the political process towards dismantling the apartheid system was still at an early stage.

18. In 1991, positive steps were taken by the authorities in South Africa such as the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Lands Act and the announcement that the Population Registration Act and the Internal Security

Act would be revised. But no sufficient progress was made regarding the release of political prisoners and the return of political exiles. Political prisoners remained in jail and the bulk of exiles had not been allowed to return without restrictions. Even more disconcerting had been the inability or unwillingness of the Government to deal impartially and effectively with the unprecedented level of violence. There was reason to suspect that the long indifference regarding violence by the regime was caused by intentions to weaken ANC and other anti-apartheid forces.

19. A year and a half after the adoption of the Declaration, Pretoria had not yet fulfilled all the necessary conditions to create a climate conducive to negotiations. It would be a tragedy if the fragile process that had been launched was derailed. In this context, the role of the international community assumed utmost importance. A combined policy of pressure and assistance would help achieve the speedy end to apartheid. Continued pressure was needed since negotiations had not yet started in South Africa, nor was there an agreement on the appropriate form for such negotiations. It should also be recognized that the parties to future negotiations had neither moral equivalence nor equal power. Future negotiations would be held between those whose authority was based on a system which had been universally condemned, on the one hand, and those whose struggle was for the realization of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on the other.

20. It was important to support the latter forces until the negotiations on a new constitution were concluded. This objective could be achieved by maintaining pressure on South Africa, the content of which should be agreed upon by the international community after consultations with the national liberation movements and the other anti-apartheid forces in the country. A premature lifting of pressure, resulting in the elimination of sanctions and in the establishment of close relations with South Africa, would be counterproductive and dangerous. Assistance to the disadvantaged sections of South African society should also be foremost among the international community's concerns. Ultimately, the task of the international community should be to foster, through pressure and assistance, the process of negotiations on a new constitution, and to support the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society in South Africa.

21. With the turn to truly democratic forms of government and a political life full of openness and individual initiative, it was hoped that Eastern Europeans would continue to stand in the forefront of the solidarity movement. Knowing first-hand what the denial of political freedom, the absence of equal economic opportunity and the absolute power of the State meant, they would lend their unswerving support to the just and legitimate cause of the South African people. In that context, the Special Committee always appreciated action by parliamentarians because they were an important force in the overall balance of the national decision-making process in a functioning democracy. They were elected representatives of the people and within their mandates and power were instrumental in promoting change. The Conference offered a unique opportunity for the participants to reaffirm their commitment to do everything in their power to make Pretoria act fast and to eliminate apartheid.

22. In conclusion, the Chairman thanked AWEPAA for the cooperation and organization of the Conference. The Special Committee appreciated very much the efforts contributing to the international campaign against apartheid. The Chairman also expressed the sincere thanks and appreciation to the host of the Conference, the parliament and Government of Czechoslovakia.

Annex II

SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSION AT THE FIRST WORKING MEETING, ENTITLED "SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION"

1. The discussion at the first working meeting focused mainly on the need for maintaining sanctions against South Africa, on the causes and solutions of the violence and on the need for economic development and political progress in that country. Statements were made by 14 participants on those subjects.

2. The participants agreed that it had become very difficult to react practically and constructively to developments in South Africa during a time of fast changes. The period of change and transition established the challenge to adjust very quickly the pace and methods of the international anti-apartheid campaign in order to respond adequately to the current situation in South Africa. In this context, the decision to lift sanctions against South Africa by the European Community (EC) was criticized. It was mentioned that the disagreement by the Danish Parliament to the lifting of sanctions had made the suspension of the decision possible. In fact, the only measure by EC which had been lifted remained the one on new investments. The 1985 sanctions by EC on arms, nuclear relations, computers and crude oil remained in place. In that light, the participants agreed that all remaining measures now in existence should be kept as a useful instrument to achieve further change and to implement agreements reached within the international community and in South Africa.

3. The participants had been informed that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) had strongly condemned the establishment of diplomatic and other relations with South Africa, and had called upon States engaging in the lifting of sanctions to reconsider their decisions and put an end to such actions. Agreement emerged between the participants that the thinking in terms of sanctions being ended should only start the day after the people in South Africa had exercised their sovereign right to elect a Government.

4. If the South African Government was sincere on the process towards democratic rule in the country, it would do everything in its power to move the process forward. Since there were still unsatisfactory developments, the pressure on the Government should be sustained. Unless the close link between socio-economic development, the need to maintain pressure and the achievement of political liberation in South Africa was recognized there would be no strong and growing support for negotiations. In accordance with the developments in South Africa, the content of the required pressure should be agreed upon by the international community, after consultations with the liberation movements and other democratic forces in the country. Since it was the people in South Africa who were most affected by sanctions they were the ones to provide the guidance on when to lift them.

5. Although it seemed contradictory, the need to maintain pressure on South Africa had to be accompanied by measures to realize internal economic growth,

massive social spending and the redistribution of wealth inside South Africa. The participants agreed that the international community could play an important role in that process. In that context, the participants considered a 50 per cent cut in the large South African defence budget appropriate which could make available 180 rand per capita for extra social spending, an increase of 43 per cent in the current level of social expenditures. However, it was pointed out that unilateral charity programmes would not alleviate the people's burden. Programmes should be aimed at real development, and established in consultation with the democratic structures emerging at local levels. Participants noted that the South African economy was not one in which an increase in trade or investment automatically would result in proportional benefits to the masses. Unless the power structures of apartheid were changed completely there would be no real development.

6. On violence, participants agreed that it resulted first and foremost from the apartheid system, which violently removed people from their land and maintained itself by force. The current situation was aggravated by the involvement of death squads and a so-called third force. Absence of democracy engendered violence, but democracy itself would make it possible to achieve the end of apartheid by peaceful means. A constituent assembly should be elected, which would be the only way to establish a government by the people, of the people and for the people. At the root of violence there was a deliberate policy of destabilizing the national liberation movements in South Africa. Too much evidence pointed to the fact of government involvement and police protection for the perpetrators of violence acting on the Government's behalf. The participants considered an international, independent inquiry into the violence an urgent need.

Annex III

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. States members of the Special Committee against Apartheid

   (a) United Nations, New York

   Prof. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman
   Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria)
   Mr. Anatoli Oleinik (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)

   (b) Representatives, Prague

   Mr. M. Agyeman (Ghana)
   Mr. A. Andalusi (Indonesia)
   Mr. S. Ema (Nigeria)
   Prof. S. Emejuiwue (Nigeria)
   Mr. O. Iyamu (Nigeria)
   Mr. G. Kahari (Zimbabwe)
   Mr. I. Velazquez (Peru)

2. National liberation movements

   (a) African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)

   Mr. Y. Saloojee
   Mr. M. Msimang

   (b) Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)

   Mr. J. Mkwanazi
   Mrs. S. Moabi

3. Special guests from South Africa

Mr. C. Beyers-Naudé, African-European Institute
Mrs. I. Beyers-Naudé
Mr. A. Boraine
Mrs. B. Brady
Mr. D. Coetzee
Mr. C. Eglin
Mr. S. Ngombane

4. Participants from the host country (Czechoslovakia)

Mrs. M. Adrianova
Mr. P. Bröhmer
Mr. L. Broz
Mr. J. Chmiel
Mr. S. Chylek
Mr. F. Dhlopolek
Mr. A. Dubcek
Mr. B. Hajek
Mrs. M. Hradecna
Mr. I. Hrbek
Mr. J. Hromadka
Mrs. M. Hruskova
Mr. F. Hudak
Mr. R. Hykl
Mrs. M. Kaplanova
Mr. V. Klima
Mr. J. Kohout
Mr. P. Mikes
Mr. J. Morovic
Mrs. D. Nemcova
Mr. J. Ondra
Mr. M. Palous
Mrs. O. Paulova
Mrs. M. Peskova
Mr. D. Petovska
Mr. M. Pohanka
Mr. F. Schilla
Mr. F. Sebej
Mr. P. Skalnik
Mr. J. Sokol
Mrs. J. Stefakova
Mrs. V. Stovickova
Mr. J. Suchanek
Mr. S. Tarhovska
Mr. K. Viktorin
Mr. J. Vrany
Mr. J. Voderadsky

5. Members of the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPAA)

Mr. Jan Nico Scholten, President; President of the African-European Institute (Netherlands)
Mr. D. Anderson (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland)
Mrs. K. Bulbulia (Ireland)
Mr. A. Dukes (Ireland)
Mrs. P. Forchammer (Denmark)
Mr. T. Georgiou (Greece)
Mr. P. Granstedt, African-European Institute (Sweden)
Mr. P. Kolokos (Cyprus)
Mr. M. McGowan (United Kingdom)
Mrs. T. Pykäläinen (Finland)
Mr. S. Riishöi (Denmark)
Mrs. W. Schütz (Austria)
Mrs. T. da Silva (Portugal)
Mr. Y. Skinnari (Finland)
Mr. A. Stavrou (Greece)
Mr. G. Verheugen (Germany)
Mr. K. Vrettos (Greece)

6. Representatives of intergovernmental and international non-governmental organizations and other bodies

Mr. E. Gasana, Organization of African Unity (OAU)
Mr. I. Gaspar-Martins, African Development Bank
Mr. G. Livi, European Commission (EC)
Mr. A. Minty, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa

Mr. P. Mmusi, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)
Mr. M. van Hulten, Global Coalition for Africa

7. Other international guests

Angola

Mr. E. Guerra
Mr. M. Quarta Punza

Austria

Mr. G. Schütz

Botswana

Mr. E. Gower
Mr. G. Koketso
Mr. L. Lekoa
Mr. B. Mokgothu
Mr. C. Mokobi
Mr. M. Nwako

Bulgaria

Mr. O. Gorkov

Egypt

Mr. M. Helmy

Germany

Mr. G. Augustini
Mr. G. Braun
Mr. P. Conze
Mr. A. Kalweit
Mr. W. Kühne

Hungary

Mrs. J. Mapwici
Mr. Z. Maris
Mr. P. Szel
Mr. M. Zombori

Jamaica

Mr. E. Gordon

Kenya

Rev. D. Hellingtone

Morocco

Mrs. N. Edine

Mozambique

Mr. V. de Araujo Ferrao
Mr. F. Paindane

Namibia

Mr. M. Garoeb
Mr. W. Biwa

Netherlands

Mr. E. van den Bergh
Mr. H. Heinemann
Mrs. V. de Lange
Mr. J. Ocitti
Mr. H. Pelgröm, African-European Institute

Nigeria

Mr. R. Uwechue

Poland

Mr. R. Karpinski
Mr. L. Paprzycki
Mr. Z. Pawlik
Mr. J. Tombinski
Mr. J. Wyrowinski

Portugal

Mr. J. Gomes Cravinho

Romania

Mr. G. Lupes

Swaziland

Mr. J. Dhlamini

Sweden

Mr. Z. Cervenka
Mrs. L. Johnsson

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Mr. A. Kouptchichine

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Mr. V. Berezovsky
Mr. N. Sandros

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. A. Hewitt

Yugoslavia

Mrs. L. Mitrovic

Zambia

Mr. K. Nsingo

Zimbabwe

Mr. D. Mutasa, African-European Institute
Mr. C. Muzavazi
Mrs. E. Tanago

8. AWEPAA conference staff

Mrs. H. Boersma
Mr. P. Boersma
Mr. T. Hansma
Mrs. B. Lührman-Fuchs
Mrs. A. Roskam
Mr. K. Roskam
Mr. P. Sluiter
Mrs. H. Tieben

9. United Nations Secretariat

(a) United Nations Information Centre

Mr. Andreas Nicklisch, Director

(b) Centre against Apartheid

Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General
Mr. I. Khvorostiany, Chief, Committee Services and Research Branch
Mr. M. Moller, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary-General
Mr. D. Wilke, Assistant Secretary, Special Committee against Apartheid
Mrs. V. Inciong, Secretary

Annex IV

LIST OF DOCUMENTS AND BACKGROUND MATERIAL CIRCULATED

1. United Nations Centre against Apartheid

A/AC.115/L.675	Interim report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, dated 10 June 1991
GA/AP/2026	Conference on Eastern European support for democracy and development in southern Africa, press release dated 5 June 1991

Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern African (pamphlet)

Eastern Europe and South Africa - New Trend in Relations, conference room paper dated 13 June 1991

Opening statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid at the International Conference on Eastern Europe and Southern Africa: Supporting Democracy and Development, Prague, 13-15 June 1991

United Nations in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid (pamphlet)

United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa

United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa

United Nations Trust Fund for Publicity against Apartheid (pamphlet)

16 June - International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (pamphlet)

2. Others

Account from Angola, UNITA, as described by ex-participants and foreign visitors, by William Minter, Amsterdam, spring 1990

AWEPAA News Bulletin, vol. V, No. 2, March/April 1991

AWEPAA News Bulletin, vol. V, No. 3, May/June 1991

Child Survival on the Front-line - How to counter the effects on children of destabilization, conference report, Harare, 21-25 April 1990

Europe and Namibia - European Cooperation for Southern Africa's Future, conference report, Rome, 7 and 8 November 1990

Europe, SADCC and South Africa: From Conflict to Cooperation, conference report, Luxembourg, 14 and 15 February 1991

International Conference on Eastern Europe and Southern Africa: Supporting Democracy and Development, Prague, 13-15 June 1991

Namibia's Constitution - Framework for Democracy, Amsterdam, 1990

Newsletter on the oil embargo against South Africa, No. 23, Shipping Research Bureau, Amsterdam, 1991

Samsam, Children on the run - Mozambique, Royal Tropical Institute, the Netherlands, 1990

Southern Africa's Future: Europe's Role, SADCC in the 1990s - A Common Responsibility, Amsterdam, January 1990

Unfinished Business: Apartheid after Apartheid, Amsterdam, September 1990

Unfinished Business: Apartheid after Apartheid, Update No. 2, Amsterdam, 30 April 1991

Violent Stalemate - Media Perspectives on the South African Negotiations, media workshop report, Frankfurt, Germany, 3 November 1990

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Distr.
LIMITED

A/AC.115/L.683
11 December 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE CONSULTATIONS WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS, HELD AT GENEVA ON 4 AND 5 NOVEMBER 1991

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INTRODUCTION

1. In paragraph 3 of its resolution 45/176 E of 19 December 1990, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid, in accordance with its mandate, and acting, with the support services of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, as the focal point for the international campaign against apartheid and the promotion of the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, to continue mobilizing international action against apartheid, inter alia, through liaison and consultations with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and relevant individuals and groups, both inside and outside South Africa, able to influence public opinion and decision-making.

2. In accordance with that provision, the Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1991 the holding of consultations at Geneva on 4 and 5 November 1991 with NGOs and anti-apartheid movements.

3. Its objectives expressed in the agenda of the consultations were as follows:

(a) Review of developments in South Africa since October 1990 and assessment of progress towards the implementation of the Declaration;

(b) Activities and plans of the Special Committee and work of the Centre;

(c) Activities and role of NGOs and anti-apartheid movements related to the ongoing political process in South Africa;

(d) Role of sanctions in promoting the political process;

(e) Proposals for future coordinated activities, including publicity and information.

I. AGENDA AND PROCEEDINGS

4. The consultations were opened on 4 November 1991 by Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (for a summary of his statement, see annex II to the present report). Other speakers at the opening meeting were Mr. Jan Martenson, Director-General of the United Nations Office at Geneva, Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights and Coordinator of United Nations activities under the Programme of Action of the Second Decade Against Racism and Racial Discrimination; and Mr. Michael Terry (British Anti-Apartheid Movement) on behalf of the participating NGOs and anti-apartheid movements. The opening meeting was also addressed by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, Secretary for International Affairs of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC), and by Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Pan

Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC). Following the opening session, the consultations continued in three workshops.

5. The moderators for Workshop I, which discussed agenda items (a) and (b) as outlined in paragraph 3 above, were Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee; and Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General for the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. Panelists in the workshop were Mr. Thabo Mbeki (ANC) and Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim (PAC).

6. Mr. Abdul S. Minty (World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa) moderated Workshop II, which dealt with agenda item (c). The panelists in the workshop were Mr. Michael Terry (British Anti-Apartheid Movement); Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy (Comité Contre le Colonialisme et l'Apartheid, Belgium); Mr. Vyatcheslav Tetekin (Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee); Ms. Lotta Johnsson (Isolate South Africa Committee, Sweden); and Mr. Fons Geerlings (Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland).

7. Mr. Tesfaye Tadesse, Secretary of the Special Committee, moderated Workshop III, which discussed issues related to agenda items (d) and (e). The panelists in the workshop were Mrs. Jennifer Davis (American Committee on Africa); Ms. Electra Georgoula (Committee for International Democratic Solidarity, Greece); Ms. Taeko Matsushima (Japan Anti-Apartheid Committee); and Mr. Göran Kärrman (Azania Kommitten, Sweden).

8. A drafting group was established to prepare a statement of action. At the closing meeting of the consultations, the participants adopted a statement of action by anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations; and a message of solidarity addressed to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) in support of a general strike that was taking place in South Africa during the time of the consultations (see annex I to the present report). The participants also adopted the general outline of the report.

II. PARTICIPANTS

9. The Special Committee against Apartheid was represented by its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), its Rapporteur, Mr. Suresh K. Goel (India) and Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria). In addition, representatives of States members of the Special Committee accredited to the United Nations Office at Geneva took part in the opening meeting.

10. Representatives of ANC and PAC, including two special guests from South Africa, attended. Moreover, representatives of 37 NGOs and anti-apartheid movements, as well as three observers, took part in the consultations. The list of participants and observers is provided in annex III to the present report.

III. DOCUMENTS

11. The United Nations Centre against Apartheid provided a number of documents for the consultations, a list of which is contained in annex IV to the present report. A list of materials distributed at the consultations by NGOs and anti-apartheid movements is also contained in that annex.

IV. SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS

A. Workshop I

12. The participants reviewed developments in South Africa since October 1990 and agreed that although the struggle against apartheid had resulted in important progress, critical issues in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa remain to be solved. The aim of a democratic transformation of South Africa has not yet been achieved. Participants agreed further that the issues of political prisoners, the ongoing violence in the country, and the modalities for the constitutional negotiations and the transitional arrangement were still unresolved. The need to ensure the immediate and unconditional release of all remaining political prisoners and detainees was emphasized. Although the National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991 had been welcomed and its importance in addressing the issue of violence recognized, it still remained to be fully implemented. The participants also highlighted the need to consider the objectives of the Accord in the framework of the newly established Patriotic/United Front because it would consolidate and unify people's action to fight the violence and to intensify the concerted efforts of the anti-apartheid forces to establish a democratic order in South Africa.

13. The participants confirmed the need to support the democratic forces in South Africa to convene, as soon as possible, an all-party conference which, on the basis of the constitutional principles contained in the Declaration, should lead to an elected constituent assembly in order to draw up a new South African constitution. In this context, the participants agreed that the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority remained the most critical issue to ensure the transfer of power from the apartheid minority regime to the people. The importance of engagement in the negotiating process with a united approach and a specific agenda in the framework of the Patriotic/United Front was underlined.

14. It was stressed by the participants that the international community should remain vigilant concerning developments in South Africa. In order to achieve the strategic objectives of the Declaration, sanctions remained the most important instrument in support of the people's struggle. The international community should, therefore, continue its sanctions although their application needed to be based on a phased maintenance of effective pressure against Pretoria. At the same time, assistance to the democratic forces and to the disadvantaged sector of the society should increase.

15. The participants agreed that the National Peace Accord and the Patriotic/United Front Conference should be commended, and the demand for an elected constituent assembly and an interim government/transitional authority supported. The Declaration remained the yardstick for the evaluation of developments in South Africa, in particular as far as the removal of obstacles to negotiations for a future non-racial and democratic South Africa, the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority and the adoption of a new constitution were concerned. NGOs and anti-apartheid movements and groups should continue to extend their political and material support to the people of South Africa to make a political settlement in the country possible.

16. The Chairman of the Special Committee and the Assistant Secretary-General informed the participants of the activities undertaken by the Special Committee and the United Nations Centre against Apartheid. The attention of the participants was drawn to the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, in particular to the consensus resolution reaffirming the objectives of the Declaration. The new two-track policy of the Special Committee towards South Africa - sustaining pressure on the South African authorities and increasing assistance to democratic forces - was highlighted. On the basis of that policy, the Special Committee and the Centre had focused their activities on the implementation of the Committee's programme of work for 1991. For instance, to pursue its approach regarding pressure, the Special Committee had organized the Second Symposium on Culture and Academic Links with South Africa at Los Angeles in May 1991, at which important exceptions to the policy of isolation in those fields had been agreed upon. It had also co-sponsored a conference with the Association of West European Parliamentarians for Action against Apartheid (AWEPAA) at Prague in June 1991, in which an appeal had been issued to Eastern European countries to proceed with caution in their relation with South Africa. The Chairman of the Special Committee had also visited Washington twice and held consultations with members of the United States Congress. Regarding its approach on assistance, the Special Committee had organized, in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, a Conference on the Educational Needs of the Victims of Apartheid, held in Paris in June 1991 in which participants had included many educators from South Africa, who had adopted the Paris statement. The Special Committee had issued an interim report in June 1991 and would soon issue its annual report covering developments between June and November 1991, which would be submitted to the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session, which was scheduled to discuss the item of apartheid in early December 1991. The Assistant Secretary-General also drew the attention of the participants to the second progress report of the Secretary-General on the Implementation of the Declaration which was submitted to the General Assembly at its resumed forty-fifth session in September 1991 (A/45/1052).

17. In addition, the participants were informed of the activities of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa; the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa; the United Nations Trust Fund for

South Africa; and the Commission against Apartheid in Sports. A report was also given on the observances of international days of solidarity with the people of South Africa, on lectures by members of the Committee inside and outside the United States, as well as on the performance of the anti-apartheid travelling exhibition during the last year.

18. In the course of the discussions, the participants expressed particular concerns at the prospects of South Africa's readmission to the General Assembly; the possible effects of the restructuring of the United Nations on the work of the Committee and the Centre; as well as at attempts to undermine the arms embargo against South Africa. Participants stressed the need for the Security Council to discuss outstanding matters pertaining to South Africa, in particular since the Security Council Committee established by resolution 421 (1977) had proved itself ineffective. They inquired about the possibility of the Special Committee setting up a mechanism that would deal with the arms embargo. Questions were put forward regarding the prospective involvement of the Special Committee and the Centre in the negotiating process.

19. While discussing the issue of South African political prisoners, the participants proposed that the Special Committee and the Centre strengthen its cooperation with the Human Rights Commission of South Africa, ANC and PAC in order to establish a coordinated and accurate account on the number of political prisoners, thereby avoiding confusion created on the issue by conflicting figures received from various quarters in South Africa. The wish was expressed that the Special Committee also set up a mechanism to monitor the issue of political exiles and to establish close contact with the Peace Secretariat of the National Peace Accord to ensure accurate information on the responsibility for deviations from or violations of the Accord. Participants stressed also the need to support the demand for the immediate expulsion of foreign mercenaries from South Africa. They emphasized that the transition process should have international participation so as to avoid a repetition of developments as experienced in Angola and Mozambique. The transition should be facilitated through the ballot box.

B. Workshop II

20. The participants observed that while recent developments in South Africa had generally been positive, the work of NGOs and anti-apartheid movements and groups had become more complex and difficult given their national Governments' view that those developments warranted the lifting of pressure on the apartheid regime. They urged the Special Committee to continue regularly to issue and distribute statements, reports and publications that could serve as a basis for challenging Governments on their actions when necessary. In addition to the close relationship with the Special Committee and the Centre, NGOs and anti-apartheid movements and groups should strengthen active contact with the national liberation movements so as to keep abreast with evolving critical issues in South Africa. In spite of the unilateral lifting of sanctions by some States, efforts should be undertaken to keep pressure on Governments to compel them to maintain political leverage on the apartheid

regime. The participants emphasized the urgent need to mobilize political understanding and support for the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority in South Africa. With a view to strengthening coordinated action between the Special Committee, the Centre, NGOs and anti-apartheid movements, that kind of consultations offered an excellent opportunity to look beyond their respective national framework of anti-apartheid action and should be continued as required.

21. In the context of current developments in South Africa and their impact on the work of international anti-apartheid forces, the participants reiterated the need to concentrate on critical issues rather than to focus on peripheral matters. Under the current circumstances, the support for the demand for an interim government/transitional authority, for an elected constituent assembly would supercede even discussions on the remaining obstacles to negotiations with the exception of the ongoing violence. Strategies and tactics of NGOs and anti-apartheid movements should be fashioned according to the desired objectives as contained in the Declaration.

22. The participants observed that besides the arms embargo, there were never mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, but selective and voluntary ones. Nonetheless, they had been effective and instrumental to the progress made so far in South Africa. According to developments in the country, the idea of a phased lifting of sanctions had emerged. Mechanisms now had to be found to facilitate monitoring and managing the lifting of sanctions. Such a procedure or action, however, should not be seen as an advocacy for lifting sanctions in total but their step-by-step disappearance in three important phases as suggested by the Commonwealth, which would begin with the lifting of "people to people" sanctions, and which would end with the removal of the arms and oil embargoes, when there was a democratically elected Government of a united, non-racial South Africa in place. In that context, participants welcomed action by the Danish Parliament, which had upheld the passing of the recommendations of the European Community (EC) for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa. The participants recognized also that federal states, counties and municipalities in the United States of America had kept their sanctions despite the lifting of the United States Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. Appreciation had been expressed that two key United States legislations, the Gramm and Evans Amendments, still remained in force.

23. The position on sanctions of the Commonwealth heads of State or Government was criticized by two participants as to dictating policy without giving Black South African representatives an opportunity to present their views on that issue to them. However, the participants recognized that both EC and the Commonwealth maintained some sanctions against South Africa, in particular in the military field, that went beyond even the United Nations arms embargo. In that context, the participants reiterated the need for NGOs and anti-apartheid movements to press for an international inspection of South Africa's nuclear facilities following the signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by South Africa. The arms embargo as such should be retained and include both the import and export of arms to and from South Africa.

24. While discussing modalities for approaching the general debate on apartheid at the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the participants expressed their concern that the Special Committee would be confronted with a large number of different views by States Members of the United Nations on the issue of sanctions. However, the hope was expressed that the Special Committee would be able to harmonize upcoming divergent positions. NGOs and anti-apartheid movements, for their part, would closely monitor actions by their respective Governments in order to support or confront decisions by them. A number of participants stressed that those Governments that had lifted sanctions should be urged to use their political leverage on the apartheid regime; those that had yet to lift sanctions be urged to refrain from doing so; and those that had partially lifted sanctions be urged to maintain the remaining ones.

25. The participants were briefed during the discussion on the activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the scope of assistance UNHCR was rendering to South African exiles, refugees or returnees. In that context, some of the participants demanded an unconditional amnesty for all returnees.

C. Workshop III

26. The participants stressed again the importance of the establishment of the Patriotic/United Front and the need for NGOs and anti-apartheid movements to act in support for the Front. The need was expressed to establish a direct flow of information between them and the different bodies of the Front. The Special Committee and the Centre were called upon to establish a communication link with the Front.

27. The participants expressed concern about the growing tendency to look at recent developments in South Africa as constituting the end of apartheid. It was important to counter the regime's propaganda and to unveil and publicize the role and activities of the South African regime in perpetrating violence in the townships.

28. In order to strengthen publicity efforts and the dissemination of information, the participants stressed the need for a publication covering activities of all anti-apartheid forces inside South Africa. The Centre was again called upon to establish links with the Peace Secretariat of the National Peace Accord and to keep NGOs and anti-apartheid movements regularly informed of developments in South Africa.

29. The participants were informed about the programme of action recently adopted by the Liaison Group of National Anti-Apartheid Movements in the Countries of the European Community; including efforts:

(a) To mobilize international support for the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly;

(b) To organize an international day of action calling for the replacement of the current South African Government and for the maintenance of sanctions;

(c) To mobilize international support for the rejection of the constitutional proposals made by the National Party;

(d) To launch a campaign of collecting signatures in support of the establishment of an interim government;

(e) To mobilize public support to secure the removal of still existing obstacles towards negotiations, including the end of violence and the release of all remaining political prisoners and detainees.

Annex I

A. STATEMENT OF ACTION BY ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ADOPTED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONSULTATIONS

1. The Special Committee against Apartheid held consultations with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and anti-apartheid movements at the Palais des Nations at Geneva on 4 and 5 November 1991 to review developments in South Africa since October 1990 and to assess progress towards the implementation of the United Nations declaration on apartheid. Representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as well as two special guests from these organizations participated in the consultations.

2. In particular, the consultations provided an opportunity for the participants:

(a) To analyse in depth the recent developments in South Africa towards the eradication of apartheid and, especially, how far measures taken by the South African authorities had gone towards meeting the objectives of the United Nations declaration on apartheid which was adopted by consensus;

(b) To review the international reaction towards these developments, especially the role of sanctions in influencing and encouraging this process in South Africa;

(c) To share experiences and exchange views on the activities and the role of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs relating to the ongoing political process in South Africa;

(d) To examine ways and means by which to strengthen the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid, in particular, to promote and assist its new two-track approach, of continued pressure on South African authorities until a democratic constitution is in place; and of increased assistance to the anti-apartheid forces.

3. Participants renewed their support for the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (General Assembly resolution S-16/1) in which States Members of the United Nations had established an internationally agreed basis for a political settlement in South Africa and had pledged to campaign to popularize the positions set out in the Declaration.

4. In reviewing the situation, participants recognized that while South African authorities had taken some positive measures towards the eradication of apartheid, such as the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts as well as the amendment of the Population Registration Act, further steps needed to be taken to create a climate for free political activity.

5. In this connection, the participants noted with concern the failure of South African authorities to release all political prisoners, including those in the homelands, as called for under the Declaration and as agreed to with ANC under the Pretoria Minute.

6. It was also noted that the South African authorities had failed to curb the unprecedented wave of violence that had gripped the country in recent months. They had failed to deal effectively with the partiality of the security forces and, in particular, with regard to the role of various groups, including mercenaries, in fomenting and perpetrating violence in the townships.

7. Also, participants expressed concern with regard to the agenda followed by the authorities as manifested by their covert funding of organizations that had been linked to the violence in townships, as well as by their constitutional proposals aimed at preserving White political and economic power.

8. Participants agreed that the existing South African regime could not be entrusted with the governing of the country during the process of negotiation and transition and, therefore, recognized the urgent need for an agreement on transitional arrangements. In this context, participants welcomed the signing on 14 September 1991 of the National Peace Accord as an important step towards ending violence.

9. They also welcomed the convening of the Conference of the Patriotic/United Front at Durban from 25 to 27 October 1991 as a major step towards uniting and strengthening the anti-apartheid democratic forces for the constitutional process, including the establishment of an elected constituent assembly.

10. In the light of these developments, participants called for the prompt convening of the all party pre-constituent assembly conference as agreed at the Patriotic/United Front Conference.

11. At the international level, participants expressed great concern about the growing inclination towards the premature lifting of sanctions which would remove the pressure on South African authorities required to achieve a democratic transformation. They called upon the international community to honour its obligations towards the fulfilment of the consensus Declaration and to cease forthwith the unilateral lifting of sanctions against South Africa, in particular the continued violation of the arms embargo.

12. In the meantime, participants called for increased assistance to the anti-apartheid democratic forces and to the disadvantaged sections of the South African society.

Towards a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa

13. The NGOs and anti-apartheid movements participating in the consultative meeting agreed upon the need for sustained campaigning to ensure a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the fundamental principles set out in the Declaration, in particular one-person one-vote on a single common non-racial electoral roll. This would specifically involve the following steps:

(a) The immediate holding of an all-party conference/pre-constituent assembly meeting under the auspices of a neutral convener on the modalities of setting up an elected constituent assembly, on an interim government/transitional authority, on the constitutional principles within the framework outlined in the Declaration, as well as the role to be played by the international community during the transition;

(b) The formation of an interim government/transitional authority during the period of transition to a democratic order;

(c) The establishment of an elected constituent assembly to draw up a democratic constitution based on the fundamental principles set out in the Declaration;

(d) The holding of free and fair elections and the installation of a Government based on the democratic constitution in a united South Africa.

14. The participants, fully cognizant of the significance of their continued role in enhancing the democratization process in South Africa, reaffirmed their commitment to sustain their solidarity campaign against apartheid and to that end agreed on the following framework as a common plan of action.

1. Promotion of the political process leading to the eradication of apartheid

15. The participants recognized the threat posed to the democratic transformation of South Africa by political repression and violence, especially State-sponsored violence, and agreed on the need to expose all such dangers; they also agreed to exert pressure on their Governments and intergovernmental organizations to take effective action; and in particular to campaign for:

(a) The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, including those on death row and in the bantustans;

(b) Exposing any violations of the National Peace Accord and to ensure that it is implemented fully;

(c) An end to the State harassment of the non-racial trade union movements, including the quashing of the conviction of the "COSATU 4";

(d) The complete dissolution of all covert and clandestine police and security force structures and the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries;

(e) The cessation of all political trials;

(f) An end to all restrictions on the right to peaceful demonstration and organized political activities;

(g) The unconditional return of political exiles.

2. Maintenance of pressure

16. The participants recognized the major role that sanctions had played in compelling the apartheid regime to accept the need for a negotiated political settlement and the essential role sanctions would continue to play in ensuring a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Taking into account the positions expressed by the national liberation movements and the recent related decisions of the Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), meeting at Abuja, Nigeria, and the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at Harare, it was agreed that pressure through sanctions should be maintained and any adjustments should be concomitant with the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority and with the agreement on a new constitution.

17. The participants agreed:

(a) To call upon anti-apartheid forces world wide to campaign for the maintenance of economic sanctions and boycotts in order to secure the early establishment of an interim government/transitional authority;

(b) To send messages of support and encouragement to the parties in the Danish Parliament that oppose the premature lifting of sanctions by EC, and to encourage the Parliament to maintain this position until an interim government/transitional authority is in place;

(c) To encourage the maintenance of sanctions by states and municipalities in the United States that significantly reduce the impact of the premature lifting of United States federal sanctions;

(d) To appeal to the authorities in the Central and Eastern European countries, in view of their disturbing tendencies to develop all-round relations with South Africa, to refrain from breaching the international isolation of South Africa and to encourage NGOs to work towards that end;

(e) To condemn those banks that had violated United Nations policy on financial sanctions and to campaign to prevent any further bond issue and other bank loans, credit facilities and new capital inflows to South Africa, including access to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank;

(f) To campaign for the maintenance of all restrictions on the supply and shipping of oil and sanctions in the nuclear field, including imports of South African uranium until a democratic Government was in power in South Africa;

(g) To promote the strict implementation of the United Nations arms embargo and all associated military sanctions, including the embargo on the export of arms by South Africa until a democratic Government was in power in South Africa;

(h) To appeal to the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to carry out an investigation into the South African nuclear weapon capability;

(i) To campaign to ensure that cultural, academic and sports contacts with South Africa in no way result in the strengthening of apartheid institutions but assist the democratic culture of the country.

3. Provision of assistance

Opponents of apartheid

18. The participants recognized that it was essential that maximum support be provided by the international community to the national liberation movements and all those struggling to secure the democratic transformation of South Africa. In particular it was agreed to campaign:

(a) To popularize and mobilize support for the decisions of the Patriotic/United Front Conference held from 25 to 27 October 1991;

(b) To mobilize support for popular campaigns in South Africa to prevent the authorities from unilaterally restructuring the economy in order to perpetuate White privilege and Black impoverishment, such as the current campaign against value-added tax (VAT);

(c) To mobilize political and material support for the national liberation movements;

(d) To mobilize financial support to meet the needs of returning exiles and released political prisoners;

(e) To urge States Members of the United Nations to honour their obligations under the Declaration to step-up all-round support to the opponents of apartheid, including ongoing assistance to national liberation movements as well as other organizations playing a positive role in the process of change in South Africa, such as trade unions, religious organizations, human rights bodies and the democratic media;

(f) To support initiatives that are endorsed by the democratic forces of South Africa designed particularly to prepare for the transitional period and for a "post-apartheid" South Africa such as human resource development and other programmes seeking to redress the consequences of apartheid, including the provision of adequate housing, primary health care and non-racial educational services.

Front-line States and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

19. The participants recognized that the front-line and SADCC States continued to require all possible assistance to overcome the consequences of years of South African aggression and destabilization. They agreed to urge States Members of the United Nations to put pressure on South Africa to stop all forms of support to the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) in Mozambique. To that end, they also agreed to urge Member States to honour their obligations under the Declaration to render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them to rebuild their economies, which had been adversely affected by South African acts of aggression and destabilization.

4. Information campaigns

20. The participants recognized that there had been a concerted campaign by the Pretoria regime and by its international allies to the effect that apartheid was dead. In order to counter the effects of that campaign it was agreed:

(a) To organize educational and information campaigns that, while acknowledging the changes that had taken place, would demonstrate that South Africa was still an apartheid State, that grand apartheid in the form of the bantustans continued as did numerous apartheid laws and that the Black majority still had no vote;

(b) To educate public opinion as to the massive deprivation and glaring socio-economic inequalities that existed in South Africa as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid;

(c) To expose the illegal and covert actions of the apartheid regime in South Africa, which demonstrated that it could not be entrusted with the Government of South Africa during the process of transition to a democratic order;

(d) To mobilize public opinion, parliamentarians and Governments in support of the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority until a new constitution was in effect;

(e) To similarly mobilize support for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as the basis for a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

B. MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS AND TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS

1. We, the participants in the consultations of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs convened under the auspices of the Special Committee against Apartheid, take note of the tremendous success of the general strike that has taken place in South Africa during our deliberations at Geneva.

2. We support fully your struggles to prevent Pretoria from unilaterally restructuring the economy in order to perpetuate White privilege and Black impoverishment.

3. We pledge our solidarity with the people of South Africa in the struggle to eradicate apartheid and to create a non-racial and democratic country.

Annex II

SUMMARY OF A STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

1. The Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid said that the consultations provided an opportunity to define appropriate ways and means of supporting the just and legitimate struggle of the South African people to eradicate apartheid, while at the same time promoting and encouraging the ongoing process of peaceful change in South Africa.

2. The importance of those consultations at that time could not be overemphasized given the realities in South Africa. They afforded an opportunity to reflect on the past and to look to the future. They came at a time when there were growing indications that the end of apartheid might be in sight although the road ahead remained complex. All parties needed to employ the most deliberate and delicate of skills.

3. A lot had happened in South Africa since the last meeting here in October 1990. The major pillars of apartheid legislation, namely the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, had been repealed, while the Population Registration Act had been revised and section 29 of the Internal Security Act had been amended. In addition, the National Peace Accord had been signed recently by the Government, ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party in a bid to stem the raging violence in South Africa. Also, an agreement had been reached between the Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the repatriation of South African exiles. Finally, an agreement had been reached, in principle, on the need for an all-party conference, which might take place before the end of 1991.

4. That those developments were significant and profound could not be disputed. However, it could not be said conclusively that they constituted by themselves the "irreversible changes" stipulated in the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, i.e., that stage at which the international community could categorically state that apartheid was dead and a new united, non-racial and democratic South Africa had emerged.

5. Using the Declaration as a yardstick for assessing South Africa's progress towards the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic society and noting the developments referred to earlier, the question remained how far had South Africa gone in the past year towards creating a climate conducive to negotiation.

6. As the Secretary-General had clearly stated, in his second progress report on the implementation of the Declaration, the process aimed at eradicating apartheid in South Africa, although halting, had remained generally on course over the last 12 months. He had pointed out that while the most basic laws of apartheid had been removed, many of the concomitant attitudes and practices, as did the consequences of those laws, persisted.

7. He had observed that the ongoing peace process might be relatively lengthy, and even vulnerable, and that it might be affected by the socio-economic inequalities in South Africa and the inadequacy of the measures taken so far to address them. Indeed, the socio-economic inequalities in the education, housing, health and social welfare areas, were so glaring and acute that immediate and practical measures were urgently needed to prevent them from adversely affecting the process of change.

8. The Chairman pointed to the failure of the South African authorities to release all political prisoners, in breach of the understanding reached with ANC under the Pretoria Minute, and the authorities' failure to curb the escalating violence in the Black townships, which was a source of great anxiety to the international community. That failure was related to the inability to deal effectively with the problem of the apparent partiality of the security forces and, in particular, with regard to their apparent role in fomenting and perpetrating violence in the townships.

9. The issue of violence was one of the major obstacles towards creating a climate conducive to free political activity. Even after the signing of the 14 September Peace Accord, hardly a day had gone by without more senseless killings in one township or another. The situation had reached alarming proportions. He referred to the recent serious revelations of secret government funding of the Inkatha organization and with the links between parts of the security forces with extremist right-wing groups and the dangerous potential such links presented.

10. The constitutional proposals recently put forward by the National Party indicated the Government's desire to preserve White political and economic power. As Mr. Walter Sisulu had pointed out on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African prisoners, the proposals of the National Party were an attempt to institutionalize government by coalition by attempting to reconcile inherently irreconcilable positions, namely the preservation of White minority racism's virtual monopoly of the country's wealth and the non-negotiable demand of the forces of freedom and democracy for a just, equitable and productive redistribution of the country's resources. In that context, the Special Committee was heartened by the fact that the fundamental principles for a new constitutional order, as set out in the Declaration, were increasingly receiving broad acceptance in South Africa. It was noteworthy that the proposals made by the National Party contained elements in line with those principles.

11. The Special Committee was looking forward to the impending all-party conference to negotiate the basic principles of a new constitution, the transitional arrangements, the modalities to draw the constitution and the role the international community would play in the process.

12. Of concern was the rate at which some States members of the international community, though party to the consensus Declaration and subsequent consensus General Assembly resolutions, were unilaterally lifting sanctions and rushing to reward South Africa for the measures it had taken so far. He pointed to

the EC decision to lift its 1986 sanctions package; the lifting of the United States Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act; Finland's Israel's and Austria's lifting of their sanctions; and Japan's recent sweeping lifting of its sanctions. Those States now argued that the situation in South Africa had become irreversible. Equally, almost all Eastern European countries had re-established trade links with South Africa and their nationals were moving to South Africa in large numbers. Even some African States had joined the bandwagon of those swarming to South Africa to exploit trade and other investment opportunities.

13. Although the changes in South Africa were significant, the Special Committee and the majority of the Member States felt that it was not the time to reward South Africa. Rather, it was a time for concerted international efforts to ensure that the South African authorities stayed on course and that urgent and appropriate assistance was given to the opponents of apartheid and the disadvantaged sectors of South African society, so as to ensure the fulfilment of the objectives of the Declaration.

14. For that reason, the Special Committee had adopted a two-track approach towards the situation in South Africa, namely: pressure on the South African authorities until a new constitution was in place; and assistance to the anti-apartheid forces. The nature of the pressure and assistance would be adjusted as the process unfolded.

15. The Special Committee had noted with great interest the recent Commonwealth plan of phased lifting of sanctions. Within the context of the need to sustain and expedite the process of change in South Africa, and to remain collectively committed to the consensus spirit and letter of the Declaration, the Special Committee was in the process of making appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly.

16. What was required now was to exert pressure while encouraging and assisting the process of change without being punitive. It should be borne in mind that in South Africa there were now two unequal partners: a powerful, sophisticated and astute state machinery, and a weak and vulnerable anti-apartheid force. It was therefore important and necessary that the international community not treat the two as equals.

17. The Special Committee was determined to ensure that the international community cease forthwith its unwarranted and premature rewards to the South African authorities, but rather that it increase its material, financial, technical and other forms of assistance to the anti-apartheid forces.

18. The Special Committee attached great importance to the invaluable role played, over the years, by NGOs and the anti-apartheid movements the world over in spearheading and sustaining the international campaign against apartheid. It was doubtful if most of the measures adopted by the international community could have been accomplished without the sustained efforts of those organizations. Even today, in the face of growing efforts to undermine these efforts, it was those organizations that were constantly

reminding their Governments about their obligations towards the United Nations consensus Declaration and subsequent resolutions. Those organizations could play an invaluable role in marshalling the assistance needed now and in the future to sustain the present momentum and ensure that South Africa was rebuilt on a solid foundation.

19. The Special Committee hoped that the consultations would result in a clear-cut strategy of not only how to implement the two-track approach mentioned earlier, but how best to ensure that the international community maintained its pressure on South Africa in a concerted and effective manner, while assisting South Africans in bringing to full realization the ongoing peace process through negotiations.

Annex III

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Special Committee against Apartheid

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States members of the Special Committee against Apartheid

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Mr. Desra Percaya (Indonesia)

Mr. Perwitorini Wijono (Indonesia)

Mr. Eric Adagogo Bell-Gram (Nigeria)

Mr. Hubert Wifland (Peru)

Mr. M. A. Elkarib (Sudan)

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National liberation movements

Mr. Thabo Mbeki, African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) (special guest)

Mr. Tebogo Mafole, ANC

Mr. Mendi Msimang, ANC

Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) (special guest)

Mr. Count Pietersen, PAC

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Mr. Göran Kärrman, Azania Kommitten, Sweden

Ms. Mirjam Korhonen, Isolate South Africa Campaign, Finland

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Ms. Margrit Lienert, Mouvement Anti-Apartheid de Suisse

Mr. Jan Lönn, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations

Mr. Teemu Matinpuro, Isolate South Africa Campaign, Finland

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Mr. James Mutambirwa, World Council of Churches

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Mr. Walter Sauer, Austrian Anti-Apartheid Movement

Ms. Lone Svenningsen, Landskomiteen Sydafrika-Aktion, Denmark

Mr. Michael Terry, British Anti-Apartheid Movement

Mr. Vyatcheslav Tetekin, Soviet Afro-Asia Solidarity Committee

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Mr. J. A. Maimane, Equality of Rights Branch

Annex IV

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